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# Ritualistic Equestrianism: Status, Identity, and Symbolism in Tudor Coronation Ceremonies

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A thesis  
presented to  
the faculty of the Department of History  
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
Master of Arts in History

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by  
Keri Alexis Blair

May 2020

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Keywords: agency, coronation, courser, Edward VI, Elizabeth I, equine, equestrian, Henry VII, Henry VIII, horse, horse breeding, Horse of Estate, jousting, King, King's Champion, Mary I, Master of the Horse, palfrey, power, Queen, ritual, spurs, state, symbolism

## ABSTRACT

Ritualistic Equestrianism: Status, Identity, and Symbolism in Tudor Coronation Ceremonies

by

Keri Alexis Blair

The crowning of a King or Queen of England is and remains an essential part of English tradition. For centuries, British subjects have flocked to the city streets to catch a glimpse of their next monarch. For the Tudors, the spectacle of pageantry was often an ostentatious display of wealth and grandeur. Using horses as an historical lens, this study will examine four different components of equestrianism in Tudor coronation ceremonies: The King's Champion, the Gilded Spurs, the Master of the Horse, and the Horse of Honor. Despite significant political, religious, and cultural changes that occurred during the Tudor era, these four components remained an essential part of coronation ceremonies and, indeed, elevated in status, identity, and symbolism to parallel the rise of horse culture in early modern England.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The crowning of a King or Queen of England is and remains an essential part of English tradition. For centuries, British subjects have flocked to the city streets to catch a glimpse of their next monarch. For the Tudors, the spectacle of pageantry was often an ostentatious display of wealth and grandeur. Indeed, it is during this period that we see for the first time English monarchs being addressed as ‘your Majesty’ and not ‘your Grace’.<sup>1</sup> For coronations, nobles eagerly vied for a place in the procession so that their position, as well as their wealth, could be paraded for all to see. The panoply of events left people enchanted as pageants brought allegory to life, jewels on cloth made of gold and silver glistened, and horses pranced to the cheering of the crowds. Using horses as an historical lens, this study will examine four different components of equestrianism in Tudor coronation ceremonies: The King’s Champion, the Gilded Spurs, the Master of the Horse, and the Horse of Honor. Despite significant political, religious, and cultural changes that occurred during the Tudor era, these four components remained an essential part of coronation ceremonies and, indeed, elevated in status, identity, and symbolism to parallel the rise of horse culture in early modern England.

This essay builds on several academics and their research on the significance of the horse in early modern England. In 1970, during a lecture at Bedford College, Michael Thompson categorized the Victorian age as a ‘horse-drawn’ society.<sup>2</sup> A society in which horses were not only the center, but also the driving force. Building on this same concept, Joan Thirsk shed light on the horse’s role in the early modern society with her 1978 publication in *The Stenton Lectures*

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<sup>1</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 114.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Michael Longstreth Thompson, *Victorian England an Inaugural Lecture: The Horse-Drawn Society* (London: Bedford College, 1970), 1-20.

of *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power*.<sup>3</sup> Although the work is only twenty-eight pages long, the study provided a new way of thinking about how horses were utilized for a multitude of purposes. This interest in animal studies within the academic field prompted scholars to re-examine the changes in human behaviors towards animals in the early modern period.

In 1983, Keith Thomas also provided scholars with a new way of thinking about horses in the early modern period with his publication *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800*. Thomas writes about how, throughout history, man has been at the top of the hierarchy, and it was God's command that man have domain over the land and animals. Man cultivated the land, cut down trees, used animals for food, and did so without thought of conservation or preservation. Thomas looks at the change in attitudes and perceptions towards animals that began in the sixteenth century. Man began to take consideration in the treatment of his environment, utilize innovative agricultural methods that conserved the soil; humans also began giving their pets human names and including them in family portraits. Thomas's work encouraged scholars to rethink human and animal relationships. This led scholars to take a more in-depth look at the use of horses in early modern England.

Social and Economic historian, Peter Edwards provides insight into the horse market in his 1988 work *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*. Edwards examines toll records, fair records, sales records, and more to show how horses were bought, sold, used, bred, and reared during this period.<sup>4</sup> The author explains how the growth and demand for horses in Tudor

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<sup>3</sup> Joan Thirsk, *The Stenton Lectures*. Vol. 11, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading, England: University of Reading, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).



England created a plethora of specialty breeders, dealers, and tradesman in the equine industry. Not only were horses valued for their economic benefits, but they were regarded as status symbols. This allowed different classes and statuses to intermingle and trade in such a way previously unknown to England.

Interest in the horse dramatically increased in the twenty-first century. In 2005, Karen Raber and Treva Tucker used the edited volume *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* to reintroduce the significance of the horse in the early modern period.<sup>5</sup> The authors emphasize that

“Knowing more about horses gives scholars a stronger and more complete sense of many aspects of early modern culture: the relationship between political power and diplomacy on the one hand and trade and gift-giving on the other; where and why the idealization of restraint and discipline emerged, whom it targeted, and how it was articulated across arenas as varied as the social, political, and the self; how group and national identity and self-definition were created and enforced, and how these distinctions interfaced with ideas about social, cultural, and even racial differentiation; how Western cultures responded to foreign or ‘exotic’ cultures, and how they constructed and deployed notions of Other-ness, both national and racial.”<sup>6</sup>

The combined collection demonstrates that without knowledge of how the horse fits in to these aspects, “no version of political, material, or intellectual culture in the period can be entirely accurate.”<sup>7</sup>

The following year, in 2006, Amanda Murray contributed to the equine subject in England with her publication of *All the King's Horses: A Celebration of Royal Horses from 1066*

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<sup>5</sup> Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, eds., *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

*to the Present Day*. The author emphasizes that she has not attempted to improve upon the outstanding literature that exists, but, instead, looks at how horses have intertwined and effected the everyday lives of the royal family. The author looks at “the horsemanship of each monarch, from King William I to Queen Elizabeth II, and how their skills helped to raise the profile of the monarchy in the social context, while certain individuals within the royal households (such as William Cavendish, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Newcastle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Gervase Markham and Richard Marsh) helped to shape thinking on horsemanship.”<sup>8</sup> The author writes on the monarchy’s introduction of horse racing and fox hunting by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I; the introduction of Arab horses being imported in to the British Isles by James I and Charles I; the introduction of the side saddle to England; as well as the impressive breeding achievements of Queen Victoria in the nineteenth century.

The subject underwent further examination by Peter Edwards resulting in his 2007 publication of *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*. Edwards builds on his previous works by taking a more in-depth look at the relationship between animals and society and seeing how horses were kept, used, bred, cared for, trained, and sold before industrialization. The author argues that horse breeding improved dramatically in early modern England “due to a combination of political, social, and economic factors: the strategic concerns of the crown, the social pretensions of the upper classes and the demands of agriculture, trade, and industry.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings' Horses: a Celebration of Royal Horses from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Robson, 2006), ix.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007).

Edwards's work on the subject inspired further discussion in the 2012 anthology *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* written by Edwards, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham. The collection of essays attempt to fill the void in the scholarship by emphasizing horses' iconic and symbolic appeal rather than their utilitarian functions.<sup>10</sup> The essays are divided into three sections: "Horsemanship and Status", "Horse Breeding", and "Horse-Human Identities". In "Horsemanship and Status", topics cover a variety of subjects including the Duke of Newcastle, horse iconography, the horse and rider in the early modern Philippines, Sir Phillip Sydney, and Federico Grisone. A majority of the topics in Part two, "Horse Breeding", cover the geographical region of England. Other essays in this section branch out covering Italy and Africa. Part three of this work deals with "Horse-Human Identities". It discusses the imagery, perception, value, and understanding of horses amongst the different classes and trades. The section covers mostly early modern England, however, it does discuss farriers and blacksmiths in Germany. The themes throughout the work reinforce the perception among the elite that "good horsemanship and participation in equine-based pursuits such as hunting and hawking, the manège, and jousting virtually defined a gentlemen and thus membership of the governing caste."<sup>11</sup>

Kevin De Ornellas acknowledges this growth in horsemanship as an art form in his 2014 *The Horse in Early Modern English Culture: Bridled, Curbed, and Tamed*. The author advocates that the relationship between humans and animals was not an equal one. The author argues that

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<sup>10</sup> Peter Edwards, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham, eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture. Boston: Brill, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 7.

the poor treatment of horses in early modern England symbolized oppression and domination, and that to be compared to a beast who is bitted and harnessed was a “demonstration of inferiority and subjugation” and that to think otherwise is to be “naïve about the realities of horse management in this period.”<sup>12</sup> The author narrows his time period to 1558-1660 and prefers the term “early modern” over “Renaissance”. He admits that although the horse did new things in the early modern period, “horsemanship did not cease during the Middle Ages; it simply became more conspicuously denoted as an art form in the Tudor era. And pulling wagons was a fresh development of horse management, not a ‘rebirth’ of some previous, putatively great era.”<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the author argues that because horses are entirely domesticated, dominated, and guided by human hand, “the early modern horse is afforded no intrinsic agency of its own.”<sup>14</sup> De Ornellas goes on to say that horses had “no agitational role in the societal anxieties of early modern England”, and that on one level, the book does not involve horses at all, but rather is more about human concerns.<sup>15</sup>

The following year, in 2015, horsemanship as an art form in early modern England was more closely examined by Elaine Walker in her book, *‘To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight’: The Horsemanship Manuals of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle*. Her analysis of the horsemanship manuals reveal the intricate maneuvers required of a manège horse and the training involved. Placed within their historical contexts, the author gives insight into the

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<sup>12</sup> Kevin De Ornellas, *The Horse in Early Modern English Culture: Bridled, Curbed, and Tamed* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2014), xiii.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., xiii.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., xiv.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., xvi.

relationship between the Duke and his horses, as well as the popular discipline of the manège. This focus on William Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle prompted Monica Mattfeld to publish in the following year *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship*. The author focuses heavily on the highly influential horseman William Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle, and his writings. Cavendish's horsemanship manuals reflect a nobility and status that identified with the horse. Mattfeld also writes of the horse and rider as a human-animal governance being a political reflection that connects to the theme of masculinity.<sup>16</sup> The academic spotlight continued to shine on the Cavendish family. In 2018, Peter Edwards published his most recent work *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish First Earl of Devonshire (1551-1626) and his Horses*. The author uses account records from Chatsworth House to examine the management of the estate. The author also discusses the lifestyle that accompanied an aristocrat. Moreover, Edwards's book discusses the different seasons in which trips to London would become lavish displays of one's wealth and power, a display in which horses were at the center.

Scholars' examination of horses as status symbols and horsemanship as an art form was not limited to just equines. The twenty-first century also saw a booming interest in scholarship concerning the subject of humans and animals. Erica Fudge produced a number of works that move beyond the field of equine studies and focuses on human and animal relationships, including her 2000 academic publication *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*. Fudge writes that her work is not so much about animals as it is about the ways in which humans contemplate their own status and define themselves in the face of

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<sup>16</sup> Monica Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017.

animals. The author claims that this boundary that separates man from beast is important because “it is an issue in many areas of culture which are central to our understanding and because it raises ethical and political issues which remain relevant today.”<sup>17</sup> She argues that in early modern England, human-ness was a fragile thing, and that humans as a species required external additions such as property, education, and mastery of the world to feel fully human.<sup>18</sup>

Animals as agents in the early modern period was explored in Fudge’s 2002 publication of *Renaissance Beasts*. Focusing on the time period 1550-1700, the essays within look at the boundaries between human and animals and examine how those boundaries were both dissolved and cemented at the same time in the early modern period. In exploring the history of animals, Fudge writes “Animals can be agents within culture; they are never always only objects.”<sup>19</sup> The book consists of eleven essays and explores the different ways in which animals played a key role in Renaissance culture. Fudge writes, “Renaissance Beasts refers to an idea as much as (if not more than) a period.”<sup>20</sup> The chapters are arranged in chronological order and focus mostly on England and France. Combined, they introduce some of the many ways in which animals were used and thought with and about in early modern culture through different aspects of science, religion, literature, sport and pastime. The authors offer new ways of thinking about these uses

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<sup>17</sup> Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2000), 1.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Erica Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002), 4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 10.

and propose that we “revise our assumptions about the place, role, and function of animals in early modern thought.”<sup>21</sup>

Symbolism continued to appear again in scholarly work concerning human and animal relationships. In 2002, Angela Creager and William Jordan edited the collection of essays in *The Animal-Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*. The anthology explores symbolism and material and bodily aspects of human-animal relations through eating regulations, aggression, and the process of transplanting animal organs into human beings.<sup>22</sup> This prompted Bruce Boehrer to publish in the same year his work *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England*. The author uses Shakespearean texts to examine the role of animal-metaphor. Boehrer focuses on natural characteristics that are idiosyncratic to feminism, masculinity, and ethnicity and, then, considers how the nature of the natural world is represented on the Renaissance stage. The author argues that despite early modern conceptions of the natural world, there was a cultural order that underlies it.<sup>23</sup> Erica Fudge then responded in 2006 with her work *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England*. The author states that the field of animal history “is clearly there, but it is not the history of animals; such a thing is impossible. Rather it is the history of human attitudes toward animals.”<sup>24</sup> Combined the authors give insight into how humans used animals in symbolic settings and reveal the multitude of ways in which animals were reflected in human attitudes.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>22</sup> Angela Creager and William C. Jordan, eds., *The Animal-Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> Bruce Boehrer, *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1.

Scholars continued to explore human and animal relationships from a variety of perspectives resulting in multiple publications in the second decade of the twenty-first century. In 2010, Dorothee Brantz published the anthology *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*. The collection of essays re-examines the boundaries between humans and animals, and their desire to observe animals and capture or kill them, as well as domesticate them and utilize them to help build civilization.<sup>25</sup> The essays analyze the historical relevance of animals within their historical context and looks at a wide variety of animals including horses in early modern England. Brantz believes that the combined essays suggest a new way of looking at not only animals, but also human history.<sup>26</sup>

Animals and their changing roles in society was examined the following year in 2011 by Bruce Boehrer and Linda Kalof in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*. The edited collection covers the time period in Europe from 1400-1600 and provides a broad overview of the changing roles of animals in the economy, culture, and ideologies of the period. The book discusses a range of topics from symbolism in birds to the development of illustrated works of natural history. Additionally in 2011, Joyce Salisbury provided an earlier perspective with the monograph *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*. The author discusses the changes in attitudes towards animals from 400-1400, while exploring how contemporaries defined what it meant to be human and what it meant to be an animal.

The subject of human and animal relationships also underwent examination from academics in the literary field. In 2013, Karen Raber published her monograph, *Animal Bodies*,

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<sup>25</sup> Dorothee Brantz, ed., *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



*Renaissance Culture*. Raber's work discusses animal embodiment in the Early Modern period and its relationship with humans through an ecocritical lens. A literary scholar, Raber states that many questions in the field of animal studies have been left unanswered, and the author attempts to address the gap in the scholarship – "How did early moderns perceive the consequences of shared embodiment? How do animals contribute to human culture? ...how human *is* culture, and how and why have we come to discount animals' roles in constructing it?"<sup>27</sup> The author argues that the division between human and animal relationships, the division between animal bodies and animal reason, was troubling to people of the Early Modern period.

Animals and identity are examined in Pia Cuneo's 2014 anthology *Animals in Early Modern Identity*. This work is a collection of essays that investigates how animals such as horses, dogs, and pigs were used to serve humans to defend, contest, or transcend the boundaries of early modern identities. The obvious fact that animals were ubiquitous in the early modern period reinforces the perception that animals impacted the lives of all classes ranging from peasants to princes. Animals were used for trade; they raised statuses; people wrote sermons about them; they were used in texts. Cuneo writes that the collection as a whole "attempts to strike a workable compromise between an acceptance of the mediated nature of historical knowledge and the pursuit of genuine understanding of processes by which animals were used both physically and symbolically by human animals to perform identity."<sup>28</sup> The author also notes that this collection should not be read as "a hermetically sealed system of hermeneutics, but instead as a practical and approximate structure allowing a comparative and critical assessment

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<sup>27</sup> Karen Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 5.

<sup>28</sup> Pia Cuneo, ed., *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 4-5.

of the functional role of animals in the constructions and performances of early modern identities.”<sup>29</sup>

Animals as symbols continued to be a growing interest. In 2016, human and animal studies expanded to include *Animals in the Middle Ages: A book of Essays*. The collection, edited by Nona Flores, does not focus on literal animals, but rather, focuses instead on animals as symbols, ideas, or images. The anthology is divided into three parts: More than an Animal, Another Look at the *Physiologus*, a Greek text originating as early as the second century that consisted of a compilation of some forty animals, and Neither Man nor Beast. The authors’ works reinforce the use of animals in symbolic settings of the period.

More than just symbols, animals that entertain or perform a service are examined in Monica Mattfeld and Karen Raber’s 2017 collaboration of *Performing Animals: History, Agency, and Theater*. This collection of essays explores the relationships between humans and performing animals in various texts such as medieval plays, natural histories, dissections, and banquets from the early modern period to the nineteenth century. The authors entertain the concept of what it means for animals to perform for humans and how a human’s understanding of performance is changed by an animal’s presence. The essays focus on a variety of animal species, including insects, bears, and horses. This examination of the role that animals played in pageants and plays gives insight into early modern perceptions that humans had towards their beastly counterparts.

Agency also becomes a focused theme in animal studies with Sara Cockram and Andrew Well’s 2018 edited collection *Interspecies Interactions: Animals and Humans between the*

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 5.

*Middle Ages and Modernity*. The collection of essays explore the relationship between humans and animals, not simply as a way to use animals to better understand ourselves, but to also understand the relationship that animals had with humans and humans with animals.<sup>30</sup> The book explores the use of animal agency throughout the wide variety of species discussed in the essays, and advocates that animals had a very real impact on the world around them.

It is within the context of this academic conversation, the rise of horse culture in early modern England, that the following study fits. The elevation in status, identity, and symbolism of equestrian components in coronation ceremonies of the Tudor period paralleled the rise of horse culture in early modern England. The King's Champion, the Gilded Spurs, the Master of the Horse, and the Horse of Honor contributed to the ostentatious display of wealth and grandeur that embodied the panoply of events at Tudor coronation ceremonies. Focusing on the Tudor period, the following essay uses horses as a cultural lens to examine the juxtaposition of equestrianism in coronation ceremonies and the rise of horse culture among the elite. Furthermore, this essay uses horses as a unique vantage point from which to explore different aspects of gender, animal agency, and human-animal relationships beginning in early modern England.

This essay will divide the chronology of its chapters between the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. This is contrary to historians who typically agree that the Early Tudor period was between 1485, when Henry VII came to the throne, and 1558, the year of Mary I's death. This chronology is applied to Elizabeth Burton's *The Pageant of Early Tudor England, 1485-1558*. In the work, Burton provides a broad overview of English culture during the reigns of Henry VII,

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<sup>30</sup> Sara Cockram and Andrew Wells, eds., *Interspecies Interactions: Animals and Humans between the Middle Ages and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. The author places the title of High Renaissance on the Elizabethan era, but argues that much of its cultural roots grew out of the Early Tudor period.<sup>31</sup> However, for the purposes of this study, the chronology divides the Kings from the Queens. For Tudor coronation ceremonies, the most prominent cultural change that took place was the crowning of England's first Queen regnant- Mary I. This significantly affected the equestrian components that this study analyzes, and, therefore, justifies the chronological division of the subsequent chapters.

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<sup>31</sup> Elizabeth Burton, *The Pageant of Early Tudor England, 1485-1558* (New York: Scribner, 1976).

## CHAPTER 2. STATUS, IDENTITY, AND SYMBOLISM IN EARLY TUDOR CORONATION CEREMONIES

Beginning in the fourteenth century, the coronation procession to Westminster palace became a grandiose event. Amongst hundreds of horses in the procession, one would find the King atop his destrier adorned for the masses. In front of the King, a noble carried the great Gilded Spurs. Behind the King's horse was the Master of the Horse leading a spare. Elsewhere in the procession was the King's Champion. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the objects used in the processions gained symbolic meaning, the Master of the Horse's role increased in status, and the spare horse's role went from being strictly utilitarian to one that was increasingly ceremonial in the titular role of Horse of Estate. Legitimacy remained a vital concern during each of the reigns of the Tudor monarchs, and due to continental developments after 1485, they legitimized their throne by adopting different aspects of European culture including horsemanship and horse management. Equestrianism such as the King's Champion, the Gilded Spurs, the Master of the Horse, and the Horse of Honor all played an integral part in early Tudor coronation ceremonies, and their elevation in status, identity, and symbolism paralleled the rise of horse culture in early modern England

Richard II's coronation procession was the first of its kind to be recorded. Coronation officials used the *Liber Regalis*, or the Royal Book, as their official guide to constructing a formal ceremony. Dating back to 1377, the *Liber Regalis* contains the official guides and procedures to every coronation and lists the proper rhetoric for each service. The guide is also used in conjunction with a program, or itinerary, known as a Device, that is tailored to each individual monarch. Coupled with the *Liber Regalis*, the Device reveals the events, placements, prayers, and songs that occurred during an individual monarch's coronation.

By the Tudor era, the *Liber Regalis* had reached the fourth and final Recension, or version, of formal procedures for the crowning events.<sup>32</sup> There are four stages to a medieval and Tudor coronation. The first stage consists of the monarch travelling by barge up the Thames River to the Tower of London. This is perceived as a symbolic takeover of the city. Once arrived, the monarch generally knighted several Knights of the Bath before spending the night in prayer. The following morning began stage two. The king travelled through the city streets of London by procession from the Tower of London to Westminster Palace so that the people could see him or her. The crowd's cheers for the new monarch meant the approval of the people by election. The procession from the Tower to Westminster discontinued in 1685 with the coronation of James II. Stage three took place the next morning with a small, but very formal, procession into Westminster Abbey where the heart of the ceremony took place: the anointing of the new king or queen, sometimes both. After the anointing, the procession was led to Westminster Hall where a great banquet was held, and this component of the ceremony makes up stage four.

The procession was full of nobles and aristocrats whose place in line defined their status and identity in society. Even more so if the noble was one of the few selected to carry one of the regal objects in the procession, including St. Edward's chalice, swords, and a pair of golden spurs. After the death of the monarch, a committee was formed and officials began to hear court claims on positions of placement and service during the coronation ceremonies, reasons for it, and fees for their services. Many claims were motivated by hereditary and monetary reasons. Nobles took advantage of the opportunity to be a part of an ancient tradition and to be seen. Furthermore, the rewards that came with having served the crown in such a way was worth the

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<sup>32</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 81.

time and expense needed to participate in such a ceremony. Perhaps one of the most important offices of medieval and Tudor coronations was the Earl Marshall. As chief of the Herald's College, it was his responsibility to oversee the entire operation and ensure that the coronation services went as planned. On the day of the coronation, the Earl Marshall was tasked with keeping order in the king's presence and assisting the ushers in keeping the doors clear.<sup>33</sup> Also, he went in the processions with the Lord High Constable and accompanied the King's Champion on his entry into the Hall. The Earl Marshall was additionally responsible for carrying the crown in the procession, putting it on the King's head, and supporting it by holding the fleuron on the front of the crown.<sup>34</sup> For these services in the coronation of Henry V, John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, requested that his fee be paid in the form of "the King's palfrey with its harness, and also, the Queen's, used when they came to the coronation."<sup>35</sup> The palfrey would have been the King's riding horse instead of a trotting courser, or hunter, but the horses are a testament to the desire of fine horses for oneself.

The King's Champion was a role of great significance in the coronation, and also, one of great reward; however, it is also an office that has never been anything but part of a pageant. The King's Champion did not hold political power, nor did he perform these services at other regal functions. The titular role only made an appearance at coronation ceremonies. The knight who was bestowed the honor of the title was equipped with the second best horse in the King's stable, the first being the horse that the King himself rode during the procession.<sup>36</sup> The fee of the King's

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., lxx.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., lxxvi. "This armour and horse are to be the second best in the King's stable."

Champion was also conditional. If the knight was challenged and had to fight an opponent, and won, then, the knight received the armor that he wore, and the horse he rode, and also the trappings worn by the horse. If the knight was not challenged, and, therefore, did not fight, then, he received the gold cup that the King used to drink to him.<sup>37</sup> The role of the King's Champion is one that was carefully scripted for the theatrical entertainment of the day's events. For the coronation of Richard II, John Dymoke claimed the right as Champion for hereditary reasons.<sup>38</sup> His claim to service gives insight into how the part of King's Champion played out during the ceremony. Riding on "one of the best chargers which the king has, with the saddle, and the harness, well covered with mail, together with all the armour belonging to the body of the king, entirely as the king himself would have it if he were to go into mortal combat", Dymoke was to "come armed with the same armour, and mount the same charger well covered, the day of the coronation, and ride before the king in the procession."<sup>39</sup> He, then, cried out to the people three times that whosoever believed that the heir to the throne of England, was not the rightful King "that he is ready with his body to adventure now, or whatsoever day he shall choose, that he lieth as a false traitor."<sup>40</sup> This act continued into the Tudor reign, and, by 1558, the role had been firmly established by the Dymoke family, making their name synonymous with equestrian theatrics on coronation day.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., lxxvi.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 70 & 160.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.



The office of the King's Champion was originally held by the ancient family of Marmion, who possessed the castle of Tamworth and the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire.<sup>41</sup> During the reign of Edward I, Philip, Lord of Marmion, died without issue, and Tamworth was left to the family of Frevile, while Scrivelsby was left to the family of Ludlows and afterwards the Dymokes. The Dymoke family continued the tradition of serving as King's Champion for coronation ceremonies in Medieval and Tudor times. John Dymoke served as champion at Richard II's coronation and was granted the right based on hereditary reasons. His fee for the service was the horse that was used in the ceremony, revealing that whether the Champion was challenged or not, he was going home with the best horse in the realm, save one- the King's. His descendant, Sir Thomas Dymoke served the crown as Champion at Edward IV's coronation in 1461. Subsequently, Sir Thomas's son, Robert Dymoke, was King's Champion at the coronations of Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Moreover, Robert's son, Edward Dymoke, continued his father's work of serving the Tudors by holding the office of King's Champion at the coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I.<sup>42</sup>

Alongside the office of the King's Champion, there was another honorable position in the coronation ceremonies that was steeped in equestrian symbolism. The "great gilt spurs", or the Gilded Spurs, were carried in the procession by one of the greater lords and nobles of the realm. The Earls of Pembroke had the original honor of carrying the great gilded spurs, and from them, the duty descended to the Greys of Ruthyn; however, at Edward VI's coronation, the spurs were

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., lxxvi.

<sup>42</sup> F. C. Westley, "The Champion of England," *The Spectator* 71 (1893): 494-95. The article gives a brief history of the Dymoke family. See also, Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. Spectacle, 295.

carried by the Earl of Rutland.<sup>43</sup> The gold spurs are part of the royal regalia, along with St. Edward's crown and St. Edward's Staff, worn by the monarch after anointing. After a monarch was anointed in St Edward's Chapel, the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy dressed the king in the royal vestments, namely, the *colobium sindonis*, a tunic shaped like a dalmatic, buckskins, sandals, and fitted the gold Spurs onto his legs. In the case of a female monarch, the Queen touched the Spurs with her hand, after which, they were taken back to the altar.<sup>44</sup> The custom of fitting the Spurs onto the legs rather than have the sovereign wear them is one that arose out of convenience. Walking around with long robes on while wearing spurs is not only impractical but also a safety hazard to the monarch's mobility. After the blessing of the ornaments, the Lord Great Chamberlain disrobed the King of St. Edward's vestments and replaced them with a parliament robe. The items, including the Spurs, were then placed back up on St. Edward's altar.<sup>45</sup> Although the spurs of the Tudor period were not the spurs of St. Edward himself, their continued existence in coronation ceremonies, even into the services of England's first Queens when spurs would have been unnecessary, reveal the power, through symbolism, the gold riding accessories embodied.

The office of Master of the Horse has been one of great significance due to its role in the monarch's household. The Master of the Horse was responsible for the horses of the Royal Stables, studs, mews, coach houses, and also the kennels that housed the dogs for hunting purposes. Originally a "king's yeoman", the office gained recognition for its war efforts and was

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<sup>43</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), lxxiii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, xli.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

elevated in name only from *custos equorum regis* to *magister* in the fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup> This was due to the Brocas family.<sup>47</sup> Their work made the office a higher social standing and politically more important than earlier keepers of the position. As a result, Sir Thomas de Murrieux is the first official “Master of the Horse” in an English coronation ceremony which was held for Richard II. The position continued to gain status into the Tudor period, and by Edward VI’s coronation, the mere position of the Master of the Horse behind the King beamed with militaristic power and state authority.

For Richard II’s medieval coronation in 1377, the *Liber Regalis* states that “Now the king on the day before his coronation shall ride bareheaded from the Tower of London through the city to his royal palace at Westminster in suitable apparel offering himself to be seen by the people who meet him.”<sup>48</sup> As Richard made his way through the city streets of London atop his destrier, or warhorse, the coronation also revealed that “a spare horse was led” directly behind the king for his procession.<sup>49</sup> The horse was not associated with any specific type or breed, nor was the horse assigned any symbolic meaning. The horse was not “the king’s horse” either. The horse was simply a spare horse that was led behind the king in the procession as a replacement in the event that something happened to the horse that the king himself was riding. This would also suggest that the function of the spare horse’s role was strictly utilitarian, rather than ceremonial. Furthermore, the lad leading the spare horse in the procession of Richard II was not even

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<sup>46</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse*. London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 53.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 340. The Brocas family held the title of Master of the Horse during the reign of Edward III; however, Richard II’s coronation procession is the first one in which a Master of the Horse bore the title.

<sup>48</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 113.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., xxi.

designated as someone significant, although Sir Thomas de Murrieux was tasked with the responsibilities for the day.

The destrier that Richard rode was most likely a war horse, also known as the Great Horse. Horses in late Medieval England were divided into two distinct categories in which they were bought and sold for utilitarian and elite purposes. While horses of a utilitarian or agricultural nature generally sold at market for £1, horses used for elite purposes, like the great horse or destrier, “almost invariably costs upwards of £5, and regularly eclipsed £50 in the fourteenth century.”<sup>50</sup> Wars had caused a depletion in the domestic horse population and a surge in the demand for them. The outrageous prices for horses caused Richard II to issue a proclamation in 1386 that forbid breeders from charging the enormous prices that they demanded. The proclamation was published in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and Yorkshire.<sup>51</sup> Elite horses were mostly acquired from abroad due to the social value that they carried. Jordan Claridge argues that “the social requirements of the medieval aristocracy coupled with their military obligations created a demand for great horses, and this in turn, created a market segment dissimilar from its lower-order agricultural counterpart. For medieval aristocrats, when making spending decisions, social obligations arguably came before economic rationality, and very much shaped the exchange and movement of upper-class horses.”<sup>52</sup> Due to the weight of their social

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<sup>50</sup> Jordan Claridge, "Horses for Work and Horses for War: The Divergent Horse Market in Late Medieval England" (PhD diss., University of Alberta (Canada), 2011), 94, accessed June 3, 2019, <https://login.iris.etsu.edu:3443/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.iris.etsu.edu:3443/docview/1040882161?accountid=10771>.

<sup>51</sup> Sir Walter Gilbey, “Richard II,” in *Horses Past and Present* (London: Vinton & Co., 1900), 16-17.

<sup>52</sup> Jordan Claridge, "Horses for Work and Horses for War: The Divergent Horse Market in Late Medieval England" (PhD diss., University of Alberta (Canada), 2011), 90, accessed June 3, 2019, <https://login.iris.etsu.edu:3443/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.iris.etsu.edu:3443/docview/1040882161?accountid=10771>.

value, riding horses, known as palfreys, of an elite nature often became a means of currency and gift giving. Furthermore, they were often used as payment for services rendered to the crown, which gives insight into the value placed on both horses and royal duties.<sup>53</sup> Business dealings with the King was greatly rewarded and it was often done so with horses.

At the coronation of Richard III in 1483, all of the ornamental objects, including the Gilded Spurs, took on additional symbolic meanings. The procession into Westminster Abbey on the morning of the coronation reveals the symbolism behind the regal objects held on display. Leading the procession was the Earl of Huntingdon carrying the gold Spurs, which now also signified Knighthood. “Then followed Therle of Bedford bearing St Edward’s Staffe for a relic. After them came therle of Northumberland bareheaded with the Pointless Sword naked in his hand, which signified Mercie.”<sup>54</sup> Other objects in the procession symbolized things like “Justice to the Clergy”, “Peace”, “Monarchie”, and “Temporallitee”.<sup>55</sup> The officers who are holding the ornaments in the procession are nearly all different from the officers who served in previous coronations.<sup>56</sup> The War of the Roses undoubtedly contributed to this factor. This significant change in office holders from old families to new men reveals a shift in political power, one that gives insight into how Henry VII intended to rule his realm as he ushered in the dawn of Tudor England.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>54</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 195-6.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Penn, *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2013), 1.

The symbolic meanings carried over and continued into the coronations of the Tudors. The Little Device that was used in the coronation of England's first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, was substantially the same as that of his predecessor Richard III, and would be used again in the coronation of his son, Henry VIII.<sup>58</sup> The procession itself became codified in the Little Device which gives full instructions of the state entry into London and describes the actions of the Coronation inside of Westminster Abbey according to the Fourth Recension.<sup>59</sup> The Little Device states that in the procession from the Tower of London to Westminster Palace there followed behind the king the Dukes of Bedford and Suffolk, followed by seven henchmen on horses decorated with lavish trappings bearing the King's badges. Bringing up the rear of this group was Sir John Cheyne, Master of the Horse and Knight of the King's body, leading "a spare courser with saddle of estate"<sup>60</sup>, the emphasis in symbolism being on the saddle rather than the spare horse itself, for it is the saddle and trappings that are covered with cloth of gold, exactly as the king's saddle, instead of crimson velvet, that is emphasized. The horse has gone from being a "spare" to one that has met the standards of a courser. A courser was often used as a war horse, in tournaments, and for hunting, and, therefore, differed in conformation and physique than that of a palfrey, or saddle horse. Not only had the horse been assigned a specific type, but it was also wearing an object of symbolic significance. Draped in white, the horse was tacked in a saddle that contained a title: "saddle of estate". The object can be compared to that of the "chair of

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<sup>58</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 219; see also Anglo Sydney, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 12-14.

<sup>59</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 142.

<sup>60</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 222; see also *Rutland Papers, Documents Illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII*, ed. William Jerdan (London: Camden Society, 1842), 5.

estate”, a chair in which the monarch sits during the ceremony inside Westminster Abbey. By this comparison, the saddle that the spare courser was wearing signified the throne of England while on horseback. Although the saddle of estate probably first appeared with Richard III, inventory records taken down as things needed for the coronation of Henry VII listed needing reins made of gold cloth for the “horse of estate”: “Item to Pi<sup>rs</sup> Briton Sadiller for a Sadille cou<sup>^</sup>;ed in clothe of golde for the kinges owne vse price xs and a sadelle cou<sup>^^</sup>ed in clothe of golde for astate xs xxs” and also “Item a leding Rayne couered in clothe of golde’ for y<sup>o</sup> horse of astate ijct.”<sup>61</sup> This detail suggests that there was possibly a blend beginning to emerge in the horse’s significance. Again, this “horse of estate” was not the King’s horse ridden during the procession itself, rather it was the spare horse following behind the King. For Henry VII, the spare horse was not only draped in the symbolic emblem of a Saddle of Estate, but the horse itself was the sovereign symbol for power and state.

The Great Banquet held in Westminster Hall after the ceremony was ushered in by the Earl Marshall who also accompanied the King’s Champion, Sir Robert Dymoke. After having served the crown at the coronation of Richard III, Dymoke, once again, had the honor based on hereditary right. The King’s Champion rode into the Great Hall wearing the King’s armor. His horse was illustriously trapped in blue ‘Cadewaladras armes’ and “not the red dragon which was confusedly assigned to Cadwalader by a later age.”<sup>62</sup> The purely ceremonious affair was steeped in powerful metaphor that propagated the Tudors as rightful heirs to England.

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<sup>61</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 211.

<sup>62</sup> Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 45.

Elizabeth of York was not married to Henry VII at the time of his coronation, and, instead, was anointed two years later in 1487 after the birth of their son, Prince Arthur. The Little Device, however, reads for the coronation of a king and queen consort on the same day. This was because Richard III was crowned together with his Queen consort, Anne Neville, the first joint crowning in 175 years.<sup>63</sup> The Little Device lists that the queen was to be paraded through the streets in an open litter with a “palfrey with a saddle of estate” following directly behind her.<sup>64</sup> Sydney Anglo writes, “The order of this procession has little worthy of remark apart from the fact that the henchmen, who followed the royal litter, rode after the Master of the Queen’s Horse and the courser of estate, and not before, as at Henry’s coronation – an alteration which gave rise to some difference of opinion amongst the heralds.”<sup>65</sup> As previously noted, one’s position in the coronation procession was one of great significance, as it denoted wealth and status. The fact that the henchmen have been moved behind the Yeoman of the Queen’s Horse and palfrey with the saddle of estate indicate a slight elevation in the status and position of the yeoman and spare horse. Furthermore, for the Queen, the horse has been assigned a different type than that of the king. A courser and a palfrey are two distinct types of horses that were commonly found in the horse markets and fairs. The small riding horse, or palfrey, was more commonly used as a riding horse for long distances, and not for war or tournaments, and therefore, more closely adhered to the feminine image of a king’s wife. Furthermore, the spare palfrey was led by the Yeoman of the Queen’s horses, a member of the Queen’s royal bodyguard whose position was higher than

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<sup>63</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 219.

<sup>64</sup> *Rutland Papers, Documents Illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII*, ed. William Jerdan (London: Camden Society, 1842), 7.

<sup>65</sup> Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 50.



that of a Knight. Although the Yeoman's place was one of significance, his position was not to be confused with that of Master of the Horse.

Using the Device of his predecessors, Henry VIII's coronation procession from the Tower of London to Westminster Palace looked very similar to that of Richard III and Henry VII. Henry VIII was crowned with Katharine of Aragon in 1509 after the death of his father. The ceremonies shifted from expected aggrandizement, traditional of European ceremonies, to one of a general policy of ostentation and pomp for display that usually enhanced great diplomatic occasions or discussed international situations that were contemporary of the period.<sup>66</sup> This expectation of what a coronation was supposed to look like reflected the wealth and grandeur of the period.

Even the costumes for both humans and horses reflected the magnificence of a Renaissance king. Expenses from the Great Wardrobe alone totaled £4,748 6s 3d, extravagant compared to his father, Henry VII's, coronation in which the Great Wardrobe expenses amounted to £1506 18s 10 3/4d.<sup>67</sup> Most of the necessities were saddlery consisting of bridles, saddles, and trappings.<sup>68</sup> By 1509, that royal attire had grown richer. The king's chronicler and eulogist, Edward Hall, wrote that Henry VIII wore 'a robe of Crimosyn velvet, furred with armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the Placard embrowdered with Diamondes, Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Bauderike aboute his necke, of greate

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<sup>66</sup> Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 122-3.

<sup>67</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 145.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-145.

Balasses'.<sup>69</sup> The King rode on horseback through the streets of London while Katherine rode in an open litter pulled by horses draped in white and gold cloth. Hall even takes note of the trappings that adorned the different types of horses, observing that 'what payn, labour, and diligence, the Taylors, Embrouderours, and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and devise garentes, for Lordes, Ladies, Knightes, and Esquiers, and also for decking, trappyng, and adorning of Coursers, Jenetes, and Palffries'.<sup>70</sup> Making his traditional appearance directly behind the King was Master of the Horse, Sir Thomas Brandon, leading the spare courser with the Saddle of Estate.

Henry VIII endeavored to improve the quality of horses in both his own stables and his realm. He expected nobles to exhibit certain characteristics befitting someone of that status, and he expected their horses to reflect that standard as well. Between 1535 and 1542, the king presented three Acts of Parliament concerning the breeding of English horses. These acts encouraged nobles to begin their own breeding operation by keeping stallions and breeding to them specifically. Henry also attempted to improve the overall size of the horse by fixing a standard height of 15 hands for stallions and 13 hands for mares; however, Peter Edwards's meticulous research into the toll books of the Tudor and Stuart era show that many horses were found wanting in standard height.<sup>71</sup> In order to prevent a relapse in the quality of English horseflesh, Henry also decreed that no stallion over the age of two was permitted to run or feed

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<sup>69</sup> Edward Hall, d. 1547, *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, And the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, In Which Are Particularly Described the Manners And Customs of Those Periods* (London: Printed for J. Johnson [etc.], 1809), 508.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Horses are measured from the withers to the ground in hands, and there are four inches in a hand; for more information, see Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 68.

with mares on any moors, forests, or commons. This correlates with Emily Abrehart's findings of fluctuation in bone size and shape of horses. Conducting an osteometric analysis, Abrehart found that the greatest increase in size and shape were in phases 1450-1600, 1600-1700, and 1700-1800, but also found that there was an unexpected decrease during the phase 1340-1500.<sup>72</sup> Conflicts such as the War of the Roses indubitably contributed to this factor.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, Nicholas Russell's work *Like Engend'ring Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* draws from published findings of both biologists and archeologists to conclude that there, indeed, was an increase in the size of horses from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup>

The increase in farming and demand for more war horses during Henry VIII's reign brought about a high demand in horses with better breeding.<sup>75</sup> This prompted a rise in the import of foreign horses, especially 'Mediterranean' ones for war and Northern ones for the draught.<sup>76</sup> This greatly improved the qualities and characteristics of English horses. The desire for better horses spread beyond the crown itself and throughout the kingdom. All classes found different types of horses to suit their needs and demands. The heavy draught horses with their incredible size and weight became a quick favorite for farmers at horse fairs and markets; carriage horses

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<sup>72</sup> Emily Abrehart, "New Perspectives on Horse Breeding in Medieval and Early-Modern England: An Osteometric Analysis of Horses from London," Academia, accessed June 12, 2019. [https://www.academia.edu/11782140/New\\_perspectives\\_on\\_horse\\_breeding\\_in\\_medieval\\_and\\_early-modern\\_England\\_An\\_osteometric\\_analysis\\_of\\_horses\\_from\\_London](https://www.academia.edu/11782140/New_perspectives_on_horse_breeding_in_medieval_and_early-modern_England_An_osteometric_analysis_of_horses_from_London).

<sup>73</sup> For more information on the War of the Roses, see Thomas Penn, *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2013), 1.

<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Russell, *Like Engend'ring Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.

<sup>75</sup> Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 48.

<sup>76</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 10-11.

became prized for their fine physique and color, and saddle horses increased in demand by the ladies who rode them. This growth in the population of horses also created specialty jobs and trades that increased the nation's economy, as well as the statuses of the local communities that provided them.

Henry's elaborate image as a legitimate ruler also extended to his royal stables and is evident in the money spent on building materials used for its design. Stables built at New Hall, Essex, in 1517-21, were 145ft. long, and those built at the royal palace at Reading in 1570 were 162ft. long and cost £1,000.<sup>77</sup> The greatest of all the royal stables, those at the Royal Mews at Charing Cross, where the 'Great Stable, garnetts, barns and hay lofts' were built in 1550-56, cost £6,516 12s 6d, "the price of a very substantial country house".<sup>78</sup> Built in 1537-38 at a cost of £130 by the king's Master Bricklayer, Christopher Dickenson, the stables at Hampton Court were set apart by their distinguished red brick and tile that was approached through an impressive stone arch. Building projects such as these reminded everyone of the wealth and power of the King and helped solidify the Tudor's permanence as a Dynasty.

The king also saw fit to establish fifty new Gentlemen Pensioners to maintain the royal stud. These highly skilled horsemen were well paid aristocrats and elite bodyguards, both on the battlefield and at court, to the king. Their status was distinguished by the servants they kept and the formidable appearance that they maintained, occasionally wearing cloth of gold. A number of Gentlemen Pensioners, like Sir Nicholas Arnold, contributed to the King's horse breeding efforts, and even went on to produce manuscripts. Sir Arnold was said to have bred the best

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<sup>77</sup> Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre BA, 2005), 21.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

horses in England, and written of the manner of their production: would to God his compass of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherein the king of that nation had usually a studery of 30,000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo doth remember, lib.”<sup>79</sup> The king’s undertaking to improve the standard of living and breeding, albeit unsuccessfully, of royal horses reflects the increasing significance of horse breeding, horsemanship, and horse care in early modern England.

After Henry and Katherine’s anointing, guests made their way to the traditional banquet held in the Great Hall where Sir Robert Dymoke made his grand appearance on horseback. The King’s Champion was an embodiment of the king’s power as a military figurehead and was also a reflection of the lavish pageantry that came to embody the Tudor era. Prior to the late fifteenth century, Knights participated in jousting tournaments that were predominantly blood-soaked gatherings of combat exercise.<sup>80</sup> However, during the Tudor period, the competitions became grandiose settings of aristocratic showman who wore elaborate armor, displayed sharp athleticism, and impressed onlookers with their magnificent displays of horsemanship. Max Merideth Reese writes that “by the time of Henry VIII the original military and sporting objects of the tournament had given way to a rich and formalized entertainment that was artistic rather than athletic.”<sup>81</sup> In 1510, the king received horse armor from the Emperor Maximilian I. The scrolling tendrils bear the pomegranate badge of the House of Aragon, commemorating his marriage to Katherine in 1509. Additionally, the king felt the need to record these lavish

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<sup>79</sup> William Harrison, *Description of Elizabethan England, 1577* (Generic NL Freebook Publisher), 59.

<sup>80</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 79. In 1466, tournament code rules attributed to John Tiptoft were put in place for protection of both the exhibitor and his horse. Of note is the rule that a jouster, while tilting, could no longer strike an opponent’s horse.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

occasions to further cement his place in the history books. Depictions of Henry VIII jousting while Queen Katherine of Aragon and her ladies watch can still be seen in the form of a pictorial record that survives today.<sup>82</sup> Written on a continuous 60ft long roll, the “Roll of Honor” is an illuminated manuscript that narrates the beginning, middle and end of the great tournament. It further reveals the king’s royal black and gold colors on both the servants and Henry’s horse’s barding demonstrating that the horse was a reflection of the king’s image and even extended to the servants.

The jousting tournaments that took place at the Field of the Cloth of Gold Ceremonies in 1520 give insight into the significance surrounding equestrianism during the period. The month long tournament was slightly competitive and lacked the allegory that usual Tudor tournaments possessed. However, allegory was still seen in the emblems or mottoes worn on the regal horses’ lavish trappings as they carried their respective monarchs. “Henry’s bay had a device signifying England’s mastery of the narrow seas, while Francis had a different device each day to signify his conquests in matters of the heart.”<sup>83</sup> Henry jousted against a French baron and “obtained great honor and victory. The English were victorious throughout most of the tournament; however, the French excelled at one thing – battles on horseback.”<sup>84</sup> There were other demonstrations on horseback aside from jousting. “The French Constable, the Duke of Bourbon, had a courser that could jump its own height”, England’s Master of the Horse, Henry Guildford,

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>83</sup> “Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice: 1520-1526” in *Volume 3 of Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice: And in Other Libraries of Northern Italy* (Great Britain, Public Records Office: Longman Green, 1869), 83.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

was outmatched by his Italian counterpart, Galeazzo San Severino, “who gave a special display on a Spanish jennet and found no one to answer his challenge.”<sup>85</sup> Although it was noted by a generous observer that King Henry “performed ‘supernatural feats’, making his horses ‘fly rather than leap to the delight and ecstasy of everyone.’”<sup>86</sup> It was the very act of riding in equestrian pursuits such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold that served as a metaphor for man’s control of the natural world.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, it was the ultimate display of hegemony and authority and suggested that if one could control the raw power of the horse, one could govern its subjects.

Aside from tournaments, general displays of horsemanship skills were an elaborate demonstration of culture and refinement among the elite. Published originally in Italian in 1528 and translated to English in 1561, Baldassarre Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* provides contemporary thought on the perfect Courtier and his knowledge and display of the horse– “Even in time of peace, weapons are often used in various exercises, and gentlemen appear in public shows before the people and ladies and great lords.”<sup>88</sup> Castiglione then states that “For this reason, I would have our Courtier a perfect horsemen in every kind of seat; and besides understanding horses and what pertains to riding, I would have him use all possible care and diligence to lift himself a little beyond the rest in everything, so that he may be ever recognized as eminent above all others.”<sup>89</sup> The Courtier was above all else a horsemen. His education as a courtier was a reflection of the horsemen himself. From the clothes he wore, to the spurs he

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<sup>85</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 124.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 135.

<sup>88</sup> Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2003), 30.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

wore, to the way he danced at court, to the way he treated a lady at court, to the way he presented himself as a political and power figure, to the way he negotiated with noble figures, all are aspects seen in the skills of a well-trained horsemen. The ability to govern a horse, the embodiment of beastly masculinity, was to say that one can control its subjects.

Horsemanship was such a vital element in the education of young men that many were sent abroad to acquire the skills: in Italy at first but by the end of the sixteenth century, in France.<sup>90</sup> The new Italian equestrian art of *manège*, the precursor to modern day dressage, and the *haute école*, or high school style of riding, was founded in Naples by Federico Grisone. His school attracted gentlemen from all over Europe, including Robert Alexander, who returned to England to become Henry VIII's riding master at Hampton Court. Indeed, it was Alexander who introduced England to the art of the *manège* under Henry VIII.<sup>91</sup> The art required complete synchronization of horse and rider while projecting the image of a centaur, and according to Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531, Alexander's horsemanship was 'the most honourable exercise' that one could practice.<sup>92</sup>

Horsemanship was not the only thing that Henry adopted from the European continent. The King of England also kept up appearances by acquiring exquisitely bred horses from abroad through diplomatic exchanges and trapping them in the most up to date fashion. In 1515, He received two Spanish horses valued at 100,000 ducats from his father-in-law King Ferdinand of

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<sup>90</sup> Treva Tucker, "Early Modern French Noble Identity and the Equestrian 'Airs above the Ground'," in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, edited by Karen Raber and Treva Tucker (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 281.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 82.

<sup>92</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1531); For more information on becoming centaur, see Monica Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 1.



Aragon. In 1517 and 1518, the King expanded the scope of his search and sent agents to Italy to purchase more horses. The following year, he sent agents to both Italy and Spain. This was the most any English monarch had done to improve the bloodline and princes were, indeed, only happy to acquiesce Henry's request. He also received broodmares, Barbary stallions, and Spanish jennets from Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua – an accomplished horse breeder and equestrian whose passion for horses was shared by his entire family. Andrea Tonni's extensive research into The Renaissance studs of the Gonzagas of Mantua in the Mantuan Archives reveal the extensive breeding operation of the Gonzaga family that resulted in the numerous diplomatic exchanges with foreign dignitaries, including Henry VIII, as among the best in Renaissance Europe.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, it was a magnificent bay-colored Mantuan stallion from the Gonzaga stud that Francis I of France rode at the Field of the Cloth of Gold ceremony in 1520.<sup>94</sup> Composed of horses imported directly from Sicily, North Africa, Eastern Europe, and Turkey, the studs produced the sought after qualities that befitted a Palio horse.<sup>95</sup> Henry not only imported horses from the Gonzaga studs, he also exported them back to Francesco. In 1514, Henry sent a consignment of Hobby horses to the Marquis of Mantua for use in the famous Palio races.<sup>96</sup> In terms of fashion, Margaret Hayward writes "The styles of saddle and horse harness were influenced by style and national taste. For example, on April 9, 1519 Alfonso d'Este wrote

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<sup>93</sup> Andrea Tonni, "The Renaissance Studs of the Gonzagas of Mantua," in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, edited by Peter Edwards, K A E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham (Boston: Brill, 2012), 261.

<sup>94</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 122.

<sup>95</sup> Andrea Tonni, "The Renaissance Studs of the Gonzagas of Mantua," in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, edited by Peter Edwards, K A E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham (Boston: Brill, 2012), 266; Elizabeth Tobey, "The Palio Horse in Renaissance and Early Modern Italy," in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline and Identity in the Early Modern World*, edited by Karen Raber and Treva Tucker (Basingstoke: 2005) 71-75.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

to Henry VIII about horses, and added that he had sent him ‘200 patterns of bridles’.”<sup>97</sup> This attempt to improve the breeding and fashion of equines by importing from abroad only enhanced the King’s image as a legitimate and cultured ruler.

The image of the horse was spared no detail during the coronation of Henry’s second wife, Anne Boleyn, either. The coronation procession for Anne Boleyn in 1533 was a magnificent grandiose event that was “as big as that for Charles V in 1522 and larger than Katherine of Aragon’s in 1501”.<sup>98</sup> The elaborate pageantry showcased horses that Henry expected to reflect the monarchy, and measures were taken to see that everything in the realm was prepared and that everyone contributed to the big day. Lady Cobham, a distant cousin to the queen by marriage, found herself allocated as attendant horsewoman for the day and was tasked with finding white palfreys for herself and her own ladies to ride during the festivities. Although Lady Cobham was provided with her own robes and the long cloth of gold (or perhaps red velvet) trapper for her horse, she was expected to equip her attendants herself.<sup>99</sup> As Queen, Anne’s first gift to her ladies were palfreys and saddles. For the hunt or the progress, a set of elaborate decorations for the queen’s own saddle cost 4£ 10s., and a further 53s. 4d. for the four tassels of gold, silver and black silk that adorned it.<sup>100</sup> Anne’s closest attendants complemented their mistress too, and the provision of a saddle and harness decorations for Lady Margaret

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<sup>97</sup> Maria Hayward, ed., *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, UK: Maney Pub., 2007), 338.

<sup>98</sup> E. W. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'the Most Happy'* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 173.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

Douglas, the king's niece, cost 4£ 13s. 7 1/2d".<sup>101</sup> Extravagant, considering a horse of this period cost an average of 4£.<sup>102</sup>

The boy king, Edward VI, ascended the throne after his father's death at the age of nine in 1547. His coronation procession was similar to that of his predecessors, however the coronation itself was England's first Protestant one due to Henry VIII's break with the Universal Church after his marriage to Anne Boleyn.<sup>103</sup> On February 19, 1547, the King made his way through the city of London with a plethora of horses and nobles in route with him to Westminster Palace. In preparation for the parade, the streets were laid with gravel to keep the horses from sliding and to protect the onlookers.<sup>104</sup> Edward was dressed to impress despite his age, and his attire reflected the extravagance that embodied the Tudor era. The young King was appareled

“with a riche gowne of clothe of silver all over embroidered with damaske gold, with a girkyn of white velvet, wrought with Venyce silver, garneshed with precious stones, as rubies and diamonds, with true-loves of pearles, a doblet of white velvet according to the same, with like precious stones and perles, a white velvet cappe garneshed with lyke stones and perles, and a pere of buskenes of white velvet. His horse caparison of crymoysyn sattyn, imbrodered with perles and damske gold.”<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> E. W. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'the Most Happy'* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 251.

<sup>102</sup> Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 68; see also Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveler's Guide to Elizabethan England* (New York, New York: Viking, 2012), 173.

<sup>103</sup> For more information on the effects of the Reformation in England, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-C.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>104</sup> John Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Edited from His Autograph Manuscripts, with Historical Notes, and a Biographical Memoir* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1857), 310.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

This is extravagant compared to Edward's grandfather, Henry VII, who paraded in his procession while arrayed "in a doublet of Grene 'or white' clothe of gold a long gowne of purple velvet furred w Ermyns w a riche Sarple."<sup>106</sup>

A 1787 engraving by Samuel Hieronymous survives today from the coronation procession. The engraving was made from a tracing of a mural that was commissioned by Sir Anthony Browne after the ceremony. Browne was Master of the Horse during Edward's reign and had the honor of "leading the King's Spare Horse" during the coronation procession.<sup>107</sup> The original mural was destroyed in a house fire, but the approved of engraving still survives as an insightful source of imagery for the parade of events that occurred that day. The engraving shows a massive panoply of people and horses making their way through the city streets of London. The King is riding atop a white horse covered with a canopy and surrounded by his henchmen. Although the *Liber Regalis* states that the King was to ride bareheaded, Edward is illustrated wearing a cap.<sup>108</sup> In a manuscript drawn from the College of Arms, directly behind the King was Sir Anthony Browne "leadynge a goodly courser of honor very richly trapped" during the coronation procession.<sup>109</sup> It is here for the time that a reference is made to the spare horse being not just a Horse of Estate, but a horse of honor. The great charger appeared imperious behind the

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<sup>106</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 222.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> John Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Edited from His Autograph Manuscripts, with Historical Notes, and a Biographical Memoir* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1857), 310.

boy king as it strutted before the crowds.<sup>110</sup> Although just a child, Edward's coronation beamed with masculine authority and militaristic power.

After the ceremony, the newly anointed King Edward VI made his way to Westminster Hall for the feasting and festivities held at the Great Banquet. Following the second course of the coronation dining, Sir Edward Dymoke entered as the King's Champion to issue a challenge against anyone who dared maintain that Edward was not the 'ryghtfull and undoubtfull heyre to the imperiall crown of this realme of England'.<sup>111</sup> Finding no challengers, Dymoke exited the Great Hall. The days following Dymoke's grand appearance consisted of jousts and tournaments on horseback before the King. Although Edward's reign was short, he still received instruction in the manège and tilting, however, due to his age and size, he only tilted at the ring.<sup>112</sup>

Edward VI, also appreciated the value of good horses. During the young King's brief reign, horses were highly regarded for diplomatic purposes and, like his father, Edward exchanged many from the Royal Stud with horses from other European courts. In 1550, Edward sent several Spanish horses to the King of France and in return received "six cortiles, three Spanish horses, one Turk, one Barbary, one courser and two mules".<sup>113</sup> His diplomatic efforts are a testament to the continuing improvement of the Tudor horse and its role in England.

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<sup>110</sup> *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Whitehall Gardens, S. W.: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 281. Illustration of Edward's coronation procession; see also Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 283.

<sup>111</sup> John Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Edited from His Autograph Manuscripts, with Historical Notes, and a Biographical Memoir* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1857), 298; see also Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 295.

<sup>112</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 127.

<sup>113</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings Horses: Royalty and Their Equestrian Passions from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 33.

The Early Tudor period experienced significant political, religious, and cultural changes that greatly affected the realm of England. Henry VII claimed the throne from Richard III to establish an entirely new dynasty, a dynasty that the Tudors worked endlessly to legitimize. They did so by adopting European influences, efforts that extended to the royal horses. Henry VIII's efforts to improve the royal studs by bringing in foreign-bred horses only enhanced the overall image of the horse. The introduction of the manège from Italy into England provided aristocrats and the landed elite with a pleasurable pastime. Riders disciplined in the art dazzled on-lookers with their horsemanship skills and the capabilities of their mount while projecting an image of masculine authority and ultimate superiority.

The four equestrian components of the Early Tudor coronation procession also elevated in status, identity, and symbolism. By 1485, the Dymoke family had firmly established its hereditary right to serve as the King's Champion. The Gilded Spurs in the procession were carried by a noble of the realm, and, during Richard III's coronation, also took on the symbolic meaning of Knighthood. The Master of the Horse's role in the coronation procession went from being just a lad leading a spare horse to one of increasing authority. Moreover, the spare horse gradually gained significance throughout the period. For Richard III's procession in 1483, the spare horse's role advanced from a strictly utilitarian function towards a more ceremonial one as it became tacked with a symbolic emblem, the Saddle of Estate. It is the beginning of the Tudor Dynasty that the spare horse itself is referred to as the Horse of Estate. Finally, for the procession of Edward VI, the College of Arms refers to the riderless horse as the Courser of Honor. No longer just a spare horse adorned in a symbolic display of power and state, the horse itself had become the metonym for power and state. Combined, the components mirror the rise of horse culture that Henry VIII ushered into England, and Edward VI continued, despite his short reign.

Unfortunately the young King died while still a boy, and, in 1553, England embraced a new form of leadership – a woman.

### CHAPTER 3: STATUS, IDENTITY, AND SYMBOLISM IN LATE TUDOR CORONATION CEREMONIES

On the morning of September 30, 1553, Master of the Horse, Sir Edward Hastings, awoke with a specific task to carry out before the coronation procession from the Tower of London began. That day, he was preparing horses not for a King, nor a Queen consort, but for England's first Queen Regnant - Mary I. Indeed, it was women that ruled England for the remainder of the Tudor dynasty, and not men. The ceremonies for both Mary I and her half-sister, Elizabeth I, were unprecedented in England, and both monarchs chose to blend attributes of both a King and a Queen Consort's coronation for their big day. Sir Edward Dymoke again served the crown by making his grand appearance at the banquet in Westminster Hall as the King's Champion, just as he had done for Mary and Elizabeth's half-brother, Edward VI. No longer was the great Gilded Spurs placed on the monarch ritualistically, but remained on St. Edward's Altar while the Queen regnant placed her hand on it symbolically. The Master of the Horse's position elevated in status and wealth in such a way that Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse for Queen Elizabeth I, was one of England's most powerful and influential men. His place behind Elizabeth on her coronation day only enhanced her image of authority. Furthermore, the spare Courser of Estate took on a new role as it left behind its utilitarian/ceremonial function and transitioned into a full on ceremonial one. For England's first two Queen Regents, the roles of Mary's and Elizabeth's own palfrey and the spare Horse of Estate wearing the Saddle of Estate were combined to reside in one horse.

Combined, the continued appearance of these four equestrian components in the coronation ceremonies reveal the horse's existing status, identity, and symbolic meaning rooted in Early Tudor coronation ceremonies. This elevation paralleled the rise of horse culture, a



prominence that proved more evident in Elizabeth's reign. Queen Elizabeth I ruled during a period of great economic growth and increased trade that produced a vast selection of horses to choose from, allowing buyers to purchase horses for more specific functions, as well as horses consisting of more desirable attributes based on color, height, and markings. Furthermore, contemporary literary works portray the horse in symbolically powerful positions that provide insight into the culture of the horse during the sixteenth century. The horse as a metonym for power and authority, culture and refinement, wealth and success, is also seen in the coronation ceremonies.

Unlike former Masters of the Horse who were responsible for preparing the occasional four finest horses in the King's stable for the procession: the best horse - the King's horse, the second-best- The King's Champion's horse, the third best- the spare courser of estate tacked with the saddle of estate, and the fourth best- the Queen's palfrey, Hastings only had to focus on two: the finest horse in the stable- The King's horse, now the Queen's own horse, and the second-best that was to be ridden by the King's Champion, Sir Edward Dymoke. Generally, the king rode his horse, "the King's horse", through the city with a spare courser wearing the Saddle of Estate following behind. For Mary's coronation, the titles, ornaments, and symbolic meanings of the King's horse, the spare courser of estate with the saddle of estate, and the Queen's horse have been combined to reside in one horse. Mary's own horse was led through the streets of London by the Master of the Horse, Sir Edward Hastings, bearing the title as the *monarch's* horse, while also parading in the long cloths and Saddle of Estate that had previously been denied to preceding horses ridden by the head monarch in former coronation processions.

The pageantry and spectacle that England put on for the coronation of their Queen displayed all of the splendor and ostentation that befitted a daughter of Henry VIII. The

coronation pageants were an extravagant display of wealth and European grandeur. The streets were hung with tapestries and strewn with grass and flowers; triumphal arches even lined the way for the Queen to pass through.<sup>114</sup> The city spared no expense, and Englishmen and foreigners alike participated in the panoply of pageants that lined the procession: "At Fanchurch was a costly pageant made by the Genowayes: at Grace-church corner there was another pageant made by the Easterlings. At the upper ende of Grace-Streete there was another pageant made by the Florentines verie high..."<sup>115</sup> As the Queen's entourage made their way through the city streets, wine flowed from fountains, offerings of gifts were made at the conduits, and orations could be heard in both Latin and English.<sup>116</sup> Even the Dutch were present that September day to pay homage to the Queen: "Then was there one Peter a Dutch man stoode on the weathercocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yardes long and waving thereof, stoode sometime on the one foote, and shooke the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvell of all people."<sup>117</sup> This inclusion of foreigners in the pageants along the procession helped further legitimize Mary's right to rule by demonstrating to her English onlookers that the Queen was accepted as rightful ruler by Europeans as well.

As Queen, Mary rode through the streets of London in an open litter rather than on horseback as kings had previously done. Instead of sending a message of powerful masculinity, Mary maintained tradition and chose to portray the virtuous and feminine image of a queen, just

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<sup>114</sup> John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603* ([S.l. : s.n.], 1603), 1066; see also *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11, 3rd October* in Claire Ridgway, "Mary I's Coronation Part 3 – the Coronation Procession of Mary I," The Tudor Society, accessed December 28, 2019, <https://www.tudorsociety.com/30-september-1553-the-coronation-procession-of-mary-i/>.

<sup>115</sup> John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603* ([S.l. : s.n.], 1603), 1066.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

as her mother Katherine of Aragon had done nearly half a century before her. Mary “rode through the Citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue drawn by sixe horses, all trapped with the like cloth of tissue.”<sup>118</sup> The Queen was adorned “in a gowne of purple velvet furred with powdered ermine, having on her head a caule of cloth of tinsell, beset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head, a round circlet of gold beset so richly with precious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable, the same caule and circlet being so masste and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up her head with her hand,” while the traditional canopy covered her chariot.<sup>119</sup> The event even resembled the ceremonial processions of the Venetian Doges as both laymen and ecclesiastical alike were included in the ritual.<sup>120</sup> Just in front of Mary, there “rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the councell: after whome followed the knights of the Bathe, thirteene in number, in their robes, the bishop of Winchester lord Chancellor, and the marquesse of Winchester lorde high treasurer...”<sup>121</sup> Behind them came the nobles bearing the regal ornaments, including the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Oxford, and the Mayor of London.<sup>122</sup> Directly behind the Queen’s litter in the procession was Master of the Horse, Sir Edward Hastings, leading “the Queen’s horse” dressed in the traditional gold cloth and Saddle of Estate.”<sup>123</sup> For Mary’s coronation, a spare horse was not needed. The Queen was not riding a horse in the day’s festivities, and therefore, would not have needed one, yet the horse still made an appearance. The

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<sup>118</sup> John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603* ([S.l. : s.n.], 1603), 1041.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 189.

<sup>121</sup> John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603* ([S.l. : s.n.], 1603), 1041.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

horse parading behind Mary's litter made a powerful statement. Mary's horse was not only the head monarch of England's horse, but it was also the Horse of Estate, and it was adorned with the Saddle of Estate. The horse parading behind Mary's litter now suddenly becomes a very powerful image of authority, masculinity, and sovereignty in a new era of feminine rule.

When Mary I ascended the throne in 1553, Catholicism was the essence of her priorities. She did not encourage feasting or festivities and did little to develop the royal stud during her short five year reign. Her lack of attention was an unfortunate setback for the Tudor horse and a lost opportunity on Mary's part. Had things been different, her marriage to Phillip II of Spain could really have benefited the royal stud. A heavy infusion of Spanish blood would only have enhanced England's breeding operation; however, Phillip II had no interest in England's royal stables and only concerned himself with keeping the country a Catholic satellite.<sup>124</sup> In 1555, the *Act for Sale of Horses* was passed which sought to regulate the horse market and cut down on horse theft caused by stealers known as "priggers of prancers".<sup>125</sup> This attempt at regulation gives insight into the growing equine market of the period, and the continued attention paid to horse culture during Mary's reign.

On November 17, 1558, the day that Queen Mary I died, Robert Dudley, future Earl of Leicester, 'being well skilled in a managed horse' galloped on a solid white stallion to Hatfield House to inform Princess Elizabeth that she was now Queen, and the first act of her reign was to make him Master of the Horse.<sup>126</sup> Elizabeth Tudor, the only daughter of Henry VIII and Anne

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<sup>124</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings Horses: Royalty and Their Equestrian Passions from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 34.

<sup>125</sup> Arthur MacGregor, "Horses in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in *All the Queen's Horses: The Role of the Horse in British History*, edited by Patricia Connor (Lexington, KY: Kentucky Horse Park, 2003), 46; see also Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 105.

<sup>126</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 154.

Boleyn, was crowned Queen of England in January 1558 following the death of her older half-sister, Mary I.<sup>127</sup> After Mary's death, William Cecil worked quickly to put together a committee to coordinate Elizabeth's coronation ceremonies. A plan for the procession was drawn up for the College of Arms and lists all of the officers that were to participate in the coronation.<sup>128</sup> Surviving illustrations of the exact position and place in the procession reveal Elizabeth being carried in a litter pulled by two white horses underneath a canopy. Directly following her is Robert Dudley, perhaps one of the most influential and powerful figures in Elizabeth's court as Master of the Horse, leading the Palfrey of Honor – the Queen's own horse. The drawings were studied and approved of by the coronation's officials and the Queen herself.<sup>129</sup> By 1558's coronation, the horse has indubitably been distinguished and illustrated for the record as not just a Horse of Estate, but a Palfrey of Honor.

Unlike other royally domesticated pets such as dogs and cats, horses were set apart in status and image. A saddle horse distinctly recognized in the queen's name is evident of the superior status that the Tudor horse had over other royal pets. Elizabeth's horse was an extension of her and, therefore, royalty itself. Moreover, this endorsement of the Queen's horse provides insight into the relationships between humans and animals in the early modern period. For it is,

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<sup>127</sup> The new calendar year began on March 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> "Queen Elizabeth in Procession the Day Before her Coronation in 1558," in *College of Arms* MS M.6, f.41v.; See also "Drawing of the Coronation Procession of Elizabeth I of England, 1559, from a Document in the College of Arms," Wikimedia Commons, accessed March 2, 2020, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coronation\\_Procession\\_of\\_Elizabeth\\_I\\_of\\_England\\_1559.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coronation_Procession_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England_1559.jpg).

<sup>129</sup> A. L. Rowse, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth," *History Today* 53, no. 5 (May 2003): 18-24.

indeed, William Shakespeare, the Elizabethan playwright, whose writings reveal ‘Know us by our horses’.<sup>130</sup>

Jennifer Flaherty’s research “‘Know Us by Our Horses’: Equine Imagery in Shakespeare’s *Henriad*” in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* suggests that horses of the *Henriad* function as characters and symbols and that to know men by their horses was to truly know them. In Shakespeare’s *Richard II*, the grand war horse Barbary is a “symbolic representation of kingship” as the throne is passed from Richard II to Henry of Bolingbroke.<sup>131</sup>

In London streets, that coronation-day,  
... Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary,  
That horse that thou so often has bestrid,  
That horse that I so carefully have dress’d!<sup>132</sup>

This description of the coronation procession in which a horse is symbolically being used to represent the throne of England and the transfer of power illuminates the type of symbolism that the horse had come to culturally embody in sixteenth century literature.

As the procession travelled along the streets of London, not only could the clergy not be seen, but also eliminated were the pageants by resident foreigners.<sup>133</sup> A description of the

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<sup>130</sup> Jennifer Flaherty, “‘Know Us by Our Horses’: Equine Imagery in Shakespeare’s *Henriad*,” in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, edited by Peter Edwards, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham (Boston: Brill, 2012), 313.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> 5.5.76-80.

<sup>133</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 222.

coronation events was written up by the Anglican priest, Richard Mulcaster, and printed on January 23, 1558 in *The Quene's Majestie's passage through the citie of London*, and a second edition published before March 25, 1559.<sup>134</sup> The work allowed people who were not in attendance to relive the event through print. This not only helped solidify Elizabeth's right to rule in the public's eyes, but was also a powerful instrument in the distribution of the Queen's image both home and abroad. The procession went as planned. Elizabeth's ceremonial entrance was the last royal entry of a Tudor into the city of London. The exuberant amount of horses trapped in magnificent colors and coats of arms was an impressive logistics operation. Il Schifanoja, a Venetian living in London and riding in the procession, wrote in 1559 that the parade to Westminster included a thousand horses.<sup>135</sup> He even reported back to the doge that the procession by barge to the Tower of London reminded him of Ascension Day at Venice, when the Signory goes to espouse the Sea.<sup>136</sup> Accounts of the procession to Westminster palace seem to match up similarly to that of the illustrations. However, there is a discrepancy between the accounts and the illustrations for the College of Arms with concern over the two white mules pulling Elizabeth's litter. Although writers state that the litter was pulled by two white mules, the horses depicted in the illustrated and approved-of College of Arms procession all match in size and conformation.<sup>137</sup> This is contradictory because mules have physical features that make them

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<sup>134</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 222; see also Claire Ridgway, "14 January 1559 – Elizabeth I's Coronation Procession," The Tudor Society, accessed December 28, 2019, [https://www.tudorsociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Coronation\\_Procession\\_of\\_Elizabeth\\_I\\_of\\_England\\_1559.jpg](https://www.tudorsociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Coronation_Procession_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England_1559.jpg).

<sup>135</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 213-215; see also C S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer, eds., *Westminster Abbey Reformed: 1540-1640* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003), 130.

<sup>136</sup> Susan Ronald, *Heretic Queen: Queen Elizabeth I and the Wars of Religion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), 3; see also Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 1.

<sup>137</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 214; see also, College of Arms, "Coronation Procession of Elizabeth I of England 1559," Wikimedia

obviously discernable from horses. Perhaps white horses were intended for the ceremony in the original plans, but were unable to be located, and, instead, a pair of matching white mules were substituted in place of horses.

Elizabeth's choice to follow Mary's example and ride in a litter once again expressed the virtuous feminism that befitted a lady. Women were expected to project certain virtues that defined a lady of class and nobility. Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* also spoke of attributes that befitted a perfect Court Lady.

“For I believe that many faculties of the mind are as necessary to women as are to man; likewise gentle birth, to avoid affectation, to be naturally graceful in all her doings, to be mannerly, clever, prudent, not arrogant, not envious, not slanderous, not vain, not quarrelsome, not silly, to know how to win and keep the favor of her mistress and of all others, to practice well and gracefully the exercises that befit women.”<sup>138</sup>

A reflection of these virtues is most evident in the increased popularity of the side-saddle. Rather than sit astride with one leg on each side of the horse, the side-saddle allowed a gentle lady to ride with her knees together and legs closed while projecting an image of innocence and virtue. However, Elizabeth's choice to ride in a litter instead of on horseback on the day of her coronation was not to be mistaken for weakness. Dudley looked regal dressed in purple cloth of gold while riding atop his horse trapped in crimson cloth of gold. His position as Master of the Horse kept him in close proximity to the Queen while he sat astride his horse, most likely a trotter, and dazzled the audiences with his showmanship of the Queen's Palfrey of Honor.<sup>139</sup> The

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Commons, accessed March 2, 2020, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coronation\\_Procession\\_of\\_Elizabeth\\_I\\_of\\_England\\_1559.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coronation_Procession_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England_1559.jpg); see also, Claire Ridgway, “14 January 1559 – Elizabeth I's Coronation Procession,” The Tudor Society, accessed December 28, 2019, [https://www.tudorsociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Coronation\\_Procession\\_of\\_Elizabeth\\_I\\_of\\_England\\_1559.jpg](https://www.tudorsociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Coronation_Procession_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England_1559.jpg).

<sup>138</sup> Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2003), 175.

<sup>139</sup> Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 214-215.



combined pair of Lord Dudley and the Queen's horse directly behind Elizabeth's litter projected an image of masculinity that only added to the aura of female authority.

The 1559 seal of Elizabeth I depicts her on horseback maintaining her virtue by riding side-ways on a palfrey, unlike the coursers that she is portrayed on in modern prints.<sup>140</sup> The side-saddle did not become a popular fashion until after 1533 when Catherine de Medici brought one back with her to France from Italy, but Richard II's wife, Anne of Bohemia, is the one credited with introducing the side-saddle to England in the late fourteenth century.<sup>141</sup> Previously, women set astride or rode around in litters. It was not until Elizabeth's reign that the side-saddle became widely popular. Although Elizabethan era side-saddles became fashionable, many women preferred not to use them, opting instead for the plank saddle, or a chair mounted sideways on the horse's back with a plank, also known as a *planchette*, for the lady's feet.<sup>142</sup> Those opting to ride this way had to be led by a groom at not much more than a slow amble. Images of Queen Elizabeth I while hawking depict her on her palfrey being led by a groom.<sup>143</sup> These images illustrate that although the queen was engaging in sports, she still projected lady-like virtues by riding sideways. Furthermore, it was sideways on a palfrey from which Elizabeth chose to address her troops at Tilbury in 1588.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 155.

<sup>141</sup> Kathy Lynn Emerson, *The Writer's Guide to Everyday Life in Renaissance England* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Writer's Digest Books, 1996), see chapter 19.

<sup>142</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 77.

<sup>143</sup> Maggi Ros, "Now Merrily to Horse," *Life in Elizabethan England: A Compendium of Common Knowledge*, March 13, 2010, <http://www.elizabethan.org/compendium/87.html>.

<sup>144</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 155.

Following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, there was fear among some of Elizabeth's advisors that Spain's Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, would try to make one last attempt to land on the island and capture the Queen. Master of the Horse, Robert Dudley, commanded the English land forces who had assembled at Tilbury. J.E. Neale quotes Dudley on the Queen's arrival to Tilbury as having said "full of princely resolution and more than feminine courage ... she passed like some Amazonian empress through all her army."<sup>145</sup> The following day, Elizabeth wore not the traditional dress of a Tudor woman, but the dress of both a queen and a military leader. She wore a plumed helmet and a polished steel cuirass over a white velvet gown and held a gold and silver baton. Instead of addressing the troops from the ground, Elizabeth chose to speak to them from horseback. Addressing the soldiers from horseback meant that the queen projected an image both of a sovereign and of a military leader. Not only did the Queen have the divine right to rule England, but the very horse itself being white symbolized an extension of that divine right and the queen, the color white often symbolizing virtue and divinity. Sitting aboard her magnificent palfrey, her majesty addressed the troops: "...I know I may have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a King..."<sup>146</sup> Although she wore armor and projected a militaristic appearance, the queen still displayed her feminine image of virtue and innocence by riding side-saddle while a groom led her horse. This is a clear indication of Elizabeth's intentions to lead both as the soldiers' general and as their loving queen, a woman.

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<sup>145</sup> J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1992), see chapter XVII: War.

<sup>146</sup> Elizabeth I, Queen of England, *Speeches of Queen Elizabeth* (Dalcassian Publishing Company), 5; See also, "St Faith's Church in Gaywood - C17 Painting (Detail) Taken 10 Years Ago, Near to Gaywood, Norfolk, Great Britain," Geograph, accessed March 2, 2020, <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2019526>. St. Faith's church in Gaywood, Norfolk, Great Britain. The painting is a seventeenth century depiction of Elizabeth I with her troops at Tilbury after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Surrounded by her nobles, Elizabeth rides side-saddle rather than astride on a white horse while being led by a groom.

On the day of Elizabeth's coronation, the Queen's palfrey would have been an exceptional saddle horse and most likely ambled or paced, unlike horses used for war and tournaments. It was under the guidance of Elizabeth's Masters of the Horse, especially Robert Dudley, that foreign imports continued to improve the quality and range of the country's equine stock. Because the elite valued horses for their symbolic, as well as their functional purposes, they were obsessed with fashion and outward appearances. After Elizabeth's coronation, economic trade and travel dramatically increased. The increased horse trade provided buyers with a wide selection of horses based on color, markings, height, and conformation. Due to the rise in imported horses and horse breeds, people were not only able to purchase a horse more affordably, but they were also able to purchase horses for more specific functions, like the manège.<sup>147</sup>

Horse breeding in England continued to improve in Elizabeth's reign. Horsemanship manuals were printed that listed proper instruction on how to breed, raise, train, and care for horses. England's royal stables were filled with several horse breeds. One breed was the Irish Hobby horse, or "small horse". Henry VIII bred and used them specifically for racing, and therefore, were sometimes known as Coursers. Thomas Blundeville, a former Gentlemen Pensioner, writes in *The fower chiefyst offices belonging to horsemanshippe (1566)*: "The Irish hobby is a pretty fine horse, having a good head and a body indifferently well proportioned, saving that many of them be slender and pin-buttocked. They be tender mouthed, nimble, light, pleasant, and apt to be taught, and for the most part they be amblers and therefore very mete for

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<sup>147</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007) 1-2.

the saddle”.<sup>148</sup> For these reasons, hobbies made excellent palfreys, or small riding horses, ideal for long distances due to the desired amble gait.

England also saw an increase in Spanish jennets, Barbary horses, and Neapolitan horses. With its thick neck and hindquarters and long wavy mane and tail, the Spanish Jennet was prized by nobleman for their courage and strength in war. The Barbary horse, named for the region from which the horse derives, was most noted for its ability to gallop on the flat for ages, a trait most useful on the race course. Elizabeth generally rode palfreys or Spanish jennets from ‘Zenata’, a Barbary tribe noted for their horsemanship, and kept them at her stud of Barbary horses at Greenwich.<sup>149</sup> From the south of Italy in Naples came the Napoliti, or Neapolitan. The horse breeder Gervase Markham felt that the Neapolitan courser was one of the strongest horses, both in strength and courage.<sup>150</sup> Infused with Turkish or Barb blood, they were swift, agile, and lean animals. Markham also agreed with popular opinion that “they made the best war horses and, with their long, slender heads, sharp eyes and ears, had the appearance of hawks”; however, he preferred the English style above all other breeds, and in his opinion the Neapolitan came second.<sup>151</sup> This was opposed to Thomas Beckham, who favored the Neapolitan courser over all others:

A trim horse being both comely and strongly made, and of so much goodness, of so gentle a nature and of so high a courage as any horse is... In my opinion their gentle nature and docility, their comely shape, their strength, their courage, their sure

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<sup>148</sup> Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveler's Guide to Elizabethan England* (New York, New York: Viking, 2012), 172-73.

<sup>149</sup> M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 155.

<sup>150</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings Horses: Royalty and Their Equestrian Passions from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 38.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

footmanship, their well-reining, their lofty pace, their clean trotting, their strong galloping and their swift running well considered... they excel numbers of other races.<sup>152</sup>

Despite the differences of opinions, by the first decade of the seventeenth century, the English horse had grown so desirable that the Holy Roman Emperor requested some English trotting horses for himself having “heard were both swift and of excellent quality.”<sup>153</sup>

The practice of importing professional Italian horsemen into England to improve English horsemanship also continued into the reign of Elizabeth I. In 1565, Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, brought to England an Italian horseman, Claudio Corte of Pavia, and made him his riding master.<sup>154</sup> Later, in 1575, Dudley sent for horse expert Prospero d’Osma, who lived in Naples, and commissioned him to provide a report on the royal studs at Malmesbury in Wiltshire and Tutbury in Staffordshire to lend a keener perspective on the quality of horses maintained there.<sup>155</sup> The manège became a popular pastime among the elite during the reign of Elizabeth. So much so that in 1584 Thomas Bedingfield complained ‘The Gentlemen of this land have studied to make horses more for pleasure than service’.<sup>156</sup> Having felt that horsemanship should be related to function, Bedingfield wrote “The principall use of horses is, to travel by the waie, & serve in the war: whatsoever your horse learneth more, is rather for pompe or pleasure than honor or yse.”<sup>157</sup> Despite his feelings, he recognized that horsemanship among the elite was a

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<sup>152</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings Horses: Royalty and Their Equestrian Passions from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 173.

<sup>153</sup> Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 48.

<sup>154</sup> Amanda Murray, *All the Kings Horses: Royalty and Their Equestrian Passions from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 35.

<sup>155</sup> Charles Matthew Prior, *The Royal Studs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Together with a Reproduction of the Second Earl of Godolphin’s Stud Book and Sundry Other Papers Relating to the Thoroughbred Horse* (London: Horse and Hound Publications, 1935), 11-38.

<sup>156</sup> Thomas Bedingfield, *The Art of Riding* (London, 1584); see also Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 82.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

valuable way for the elite to demonstrate their equestrian skills and show off the capabilities of their mount.<sup>158</sup>

Elizabethan roads were increasingly teamed with matching-colored horses wearing elegantly crafted harnesses that only bolstered one's image. This was due in-part to the Pomeranian coach, a fully enclosed four-wheeled carriage with a bench attached to the front for a driver and pulled by a team of beautifully paired horses. The first coaches appeared in London in the 1550s. Already popular abroad, Protestant emigrants returning from Europe contributed to its popularization in England. In between 1578-1586, Elizabeth had four coaches made for her. They consisted of timber bases with iron frames forming the superstructure, sides of leather, and linings of linen and brightly painted cerecloth. They were even constructed with doors that locked for the Queen's safety. Increasingly, women began to prefer traveling by carriage for the more obvious comforts, which was more readily accessible once the coach became available for hire. Elizabeth continued to remodel the stables, and it was during her reign that the coach house was added on to house the queen's preferred mode of long-distance transportation. The addition of the carriage house in stables of the nobility and the gentry began to appear towards the end of Elizabeth's reign; however, they became a staple addition to upper class stables more prominently throughout the Stuart era.

Following Elizabeth's anointing, Sir Edward Dymoke made his last grand entry into the Great Hall as the King's Champion. The Knight threw down the gauntlet, and found no one to answer the call. Following the events of the evening, a week's worth of jousting commenced in which knights demonstrated their skill and nobility. Elizabeth recognized the importance of regal

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

splendor and sat graciously as heralds gave long winded speeches to announce their master and explanations for their costumes. This chivalric act in which English nobles paid homage to their Virgin Queen ultimately turned Elizabeth's femininity from a weakness into a strength. It is yet another example of the prominent expression of pageantry and symbolism in the Elizabethan coronation festivities.

The funeral procession held on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1603 for England's last Tudor monarch was conducted according to the guidelines of the *Liber Regalis*. Illustrations of the procession from the College of Arms show the Queen's coffin with her wax effigy on top.<sup>159</sup> The hearse was drawn by six white horses, all draped in long black cloth; gentlemen pensioners served as pall bearers and surrounded the Queen. Directly behind Elizabeth's coffin was Master of the Horse, the Earl of Worcester, leading the Queen's own horse – the Palfrey of Honor. The Master of the Horse was also accompanied by two esquires and a groom to lead him away.<sup>160</sup> Unlike other horses used in the ceremony, England's Palfrey of Honor was assigned special attendants to care for it once the procession ended. This ritualistic ceremony officially ended the Tudor Dynasty, and reveals the continued significance of the Master of the Horse and the Palfrey of Honor in ceremonies more than forty years after Elizabeth's coronation.

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<sup>159</sup> Claire Ridgeway, "28 April 1603 – Elizabeth I's Funeral," The Tudor Society, March 7, 2020, <https://www.tudorsociety.com/28-april-1603-elizabeth-funeral/>.

<sup>160</sup> Janet Wertman, "April 28, 1603 – Funeral of Elizabeth I," Janet Wertman, April 28, 2019, <https://janetwertman.com/2019/04/28/april-28-1603-funeral-of-elizabeth-i/>.

## CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION

Equestrianism and its significance in Tudor coronations played an intricate part in the regal traditions of English monarchs. The King's Champion, the Gilded Spurs, the Master of the Horse, and the Horse of Honor all demonstrate the ceremonial importance of horses and horsemanship to the Crown. The continuity of equestrianism in Tudor coronations give insight into the traditions and symbolisms felt necessary to carry on into early modern England's Stuart dynasty despite religious, political, and cultural changes during the Tudor era. This, indeed, paralleled the increased development of horse culture in early modern England.

The part of the King's Champion remained a purely ceremonial role throughout the Tudor era. The Dymoke family firmly established their claim to the role through hereditary means and dutifully served the crown for the Tudors as their Champion without reserve. By 1485, the regal ornaments in the coronation processions possessed symbolic meanings. This meant that the Gilded Spurs were more than just a device used for control of one's horse, it was a ceremonial object symbolizing Knighthood. The nobles designated as carriers of the great gild Spurs held significant positions within the procession that continuously emphasized their status in society. The Master of the Horse was originally tasked in the procession with leading the king's spare horse. The spare horse's role was utilitarian before 1483, but by the Tudor period, had blended to a more ceremonial one. The Saddle of Estate carried with it significant connotations of power and state, and to an even greater extent when one sees the horse itself become titled as the Horse of Estate.

For the coronation of England's first Queen regnant, Mary I chose to combine aspects from both a king and a queen consort's coronation for her ceremony, this included the Saddle of Estate and the Horse of Estate. Indeed, a spare horse would not have been needed on the day of



procession and yet the horse's powerful presence remained directly behind the Queen. For the Tudor queen, the horse became a highly ritualized figure, deliberately laden with symbolic meaning. It was a powerful statement that the Queen's own horse was used to parade the Saddle of Estate and the long cloth of gold unlike other horses in the procession who wore crimson velvet. The Horse of Estate made its ultimate transformation undergoing a full on ceremonial role. For the coronation procession of the last Tudor monarch, Elizabeth I, the queen's own horse became permanently recorded in the College of Arms illustration as the Palfrey of Honor. This significant change in title from a Horse of *Estate* to a Palfrey of *Honor* denoted more than just the authority of the power and the state, it was a symbolic representation of the pomp and ceremonial grandeur that embodied Tudor coronations. The riderless horse's title may have changed over time, but its symbolism as a metonym for power and authority remained and was, indeed, further bolstered by the Master of the Horse's mere position. As Master of the Horse, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, was tantamount to the masculine moxie that reflected Elizabeth's image as sovereign.

In the broader scope of horse culture in early modern England, it was an emphatic renaissance elegance that characterized the Tudor period. Henry VIII saw fit to bring culture and grandeur into the English court, and he spent an exuberant amount of money doing so. The importation of foreign-bred horses and the exchange of horses with European rulers only enhanced the quality of equines housed in the royal studs. The meticulous records of their care and keep, along with the amount of money spent on building materials for the stables themselves, reflect the importance of the Tudor horse and the status it projected. Horsemanship as an art form became the ultimate pastime in early modern England. The rider's ability to govern an animal of superior power and strength impressed on-looking pedestrians. Gentlemen

were expected to know how to ride, hunt, and hawk as part of their courtly education, and women were expected to display courtly virtues by riding side-saddle. Elizabethan roads were teamed with magnificent matching horses, Pomeranian coaches, elaborate saddles, and harnesses decorated with intricate designs. The Tudor horse elevated one's status and reflected the beauty, wealth, and pageantry that embodied the era.

It is the political and cultural changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that exalted equestrianism in coronation ceremonies. This exaltation paralleled the rise of horsemanship, horse breeding, horse care, and horse management in Tudor England. The chronology of this study ends in 1603 with the death of Elizabeth I; however, the coronation procession through the city streets from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall continued until 1685 with the coronation of James II. Preliminary research suggests that the horse continued to elevate in status, identity, and symbolism into the Stuart era. This opens the door for future historians endeavoring to further explore the culture of the horse in the early modern period. Early modern England is a rich tapestry of culture, and when unraveled, reveals the significance and magnificence of the ritual and renaissance of the Tudor horse.

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